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No. RE-2507

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HOM. ALEKANDER H. STEPHENS,

before the

GENERAL ASSENBLY

OF the

STATE OF GEORGIA.

22nd. February, 1866.

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Pote: Milleageville was at that time the capital of Georgia.

ADDRESS of

HON. ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Before the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Feb. 22, 1000.

Gentlemen of the Senate
and House of Representatives:

I appear before you in answer to your call. This call, coming in the imposing fprm it does, and under the circumstances it does, requires a response from me. You have assigned to me a very high, a very honorable, and responsible position. This position you know I did not seek. Most willingly would I have avoided it; and nothing but an extraordinary sense of duty could have induced me to yield my own disinclinations and aversions to your wishes and judgment in the matter. For this unusual manifestation of esteem and confidence, I return you my profoundest acknowledgements of gratitude. Of one thing only can I give you my assurance, and that is if I shall be permitted to discharge the trusts thereby imposed, they will be discharged with a singleness of man purpose to the public good.

You ask my views on the existing state of affairs; our auties at the present; and the prospects of the future? This is a task from which , under other circumstances, I might very well shrink. He who ventures to speak, and to give counsel and a dvice in times of peril, or disaster, assumes no enviable position. Par be that rashness from me which sometimes prompts the forward to rush in

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briefly to your enquiries, I feel, I trust, the full eight and magnitude of the subject. It involves the welfare of millions now living, and that of many more millions ho are to come a to inconceivably small effect of what I shall say, whom upon the momentous results involved in the subject itself.

It is with these feelings, I offer my mite of counselect your requestant in the outset of the uncertaking, limited as it is intended to be, to a few general ideas only well may I imitate an illustrous example in invoking aid from on High; "that I may say nothing on this occasion hich may compromit the rights, the honor, the dignity, or best interests of my country." I mean specially the rights, honor, dignity, and best interests of the people of Georgia. With their sufferings, their losses, their misfortunes, their bereavements, and their present utter prostration, my heart is in deepest sympathy.

We have reached that point in our affairs, at which the great question before us is -- "To be or not to be?" -- and if to be: How? Mope, ever springing in the human breast, grompts, even under the greatest calamities and adversities, never to despair. Adversity is a severe school, a terrible crucible; both for individuals and communities. We are now in this school, this crucible, and should bearshould mind that it is never negative in its action. It is always positive. It is ever decided in its effects one way or the other. It either names better or worse. It either brings out unknown vices, or arouses adment virtues. In morals, its tendency is to make saints or reprobates -- in politics to make heroes or desperages.

The first indication of its wor ing for good, to which map, looks enviously, is the manifestation of a full conscioueness of its nature and extent, and the most promising grounds of hope for possible good from our present troubles, or of things with as getting better instead of worse, is the evident general realization, on the part of our people, of their present situation: of the evils now upon them, and of the greater ones still impending. These it is not my purpose to exaggerate if I could; that would be useless; nor to lessen or extendate; that would be worse than useless. All fully understand and realise them. They feel them. It is well they do.

Can these evils upon us -- the absence of law; the want of protection and security of person and property, without which civilization cannot advance -- be removed? or can those greater ones which threaten our very political existence, be averted? These are the questions.

even if these questions could be satisfactorily answered. Our fortunes and destinger are not entirely in our own hands. Yet there are some things that we may, and can, and ought, in my judgment to do; from which no harm can come; and from which some good may follow, in bettering our present condition. States and communities, as well as individuals, when they have done the best they can in view of surrounding circumstances, with all the lights they have before them -- let results be what they may -- can at least enjoy the consolation -- no small recompense that -- of having performed their duty, and having a conscience void of offence before God and man. This, if no more valuable result, will, I trust, attend the doing of what I propose.

The first great duty, then, I would enjoin at this time, is

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the exercise of the simple, though difficult % trying, but neverthe! less indispensable quality of patience. Patience requires of those afflicted tox bear and suffer with fortitude whatever ills may befall them. This is often, and especially is it the case with us now, essential for their ultimate removal by any instrumentalities whatever. We are in the condition of a man with a dislocated limb. or a broken leg, and a very bad compound fracture at that. How it became brokeh should not be with him a question of so much importance, as how it can be restored to health, vigor and strength. This requires of him as the highest auty to himself, to wait quietly and patiently in splints and bandages, until natufe resumes her active powers -- until the vital functions perform their office. The knitting of the bones and the granulation of the flesh requires time. Perfect quiet and repose even under the severest pain, is necessary. It will not do to make too great haste to get well. An attempt to walk too soon will only make the matter worse. We must or ought now, therefore, in a similar manner to discipline ourselves to the same or like degree of patience. I know the anxiety and restlessness of the popular mind to be fully on our feet again -- to walk abroad as we once dia-to enjoy once more the free outdoor air of Heaven, with the perfect use of all our limbs. I know how trying it is to be denied representation in Congress, while we paying our proportion of the taxes -how annoying it is to be even partially under military rute -- and how injurious it is to the general interest and business of the country to be without Post Offices and mail communications; to say nothing of divers other matters on the long list of our present inconveniences and privations. All these, however, we must patiently bear and endure for a season. With quiet and repose we may get well -may get once more on our feet again. One thing is certain, that bad humor, ill temper, exhibited either in restlessness or grumbling, will not hasten it.

the storette of the range , such a first and a first and a first and washing to accompany ammediate . Something to thing the more come as all יואלים ל נוסה. 'עו זה זוהר, חו פקוורנקונ זו נואור רובר עווע בי constitution of the Transfer of the second of the second ners o translation to me will in a committee of the new translation of the property ours, and it can be enclosed by the first of our close of any if the manual TERITOR OF IT OF COLUMN CO. TO MAN TO THE WORLD OF COLUMN CO. TATION TO THE TATION OF THE TA poltre -- and the vit I funding and or their of to . or knither י לות לאות בי לות בין ולות בין לות בין לות לאות היו בין לות לאות היו בין לות לאות בין לות לאות בין לות לאות בין mains and sayon a area under the exament pair, in account, it will Langue and the south of the subject to the presence of -- The process of the contract In the group with the time and we will be the ment of the well and the עשב של צונ שור לנש". וברוא תור בייינובין ול זו לבי הכ שברופ ייבורים ווי tricon in Commence, This we work not never in activition of the trace -to rangying this observed the result of the -- sru how injuries it is the concept of each of its securificity country to be without fort which will be it continued to contract taging its to the lift and and a rest of the transfer and the contract of inconvertinces on interesting 11 these, however, we must putting by lear end craime for a suasson, 1th subut and repose v may vet דוניו בייל סורפ רוסיים עם עם עם נוביות. עם יותותים וב כאדלניות, וייל שייר Muror, I temper, solution eller in resiles, en or involut, .111 not les ten if.

. Next to this, another great duty we owe to ourselves is the exercise of a liberal spirit of forbearance amongst ourselves.

The first step towards local or general harmony, is the banishment from our breasts of every feeling and sentiment calculated to stir the discords of the past. Nothing could be more injurious or nischievous to the future of this country, than the agitation at present of questions that divided the people anterior to or during the existence of the late war. On no occasion, and especially in the bestowment of office, ought such differences of opinion in the past, ever to be mentioned, either for or against any one, otherwise equally entitled to confidence. These ideas or sentiments of other times and circumstances, are not the germs from which hopeful organization can now arise. Let all differences of opinion.touching errors.or supposed errors. of the head or heart, on the part of any, in the past, growing out of these matters, be at once, in the deep ocean of oblivion, forever buried. Let there be no criminations or re-criminations on account of acts of other days. No canvassing of past conduct or motives. Great disasters are upon us and upon the whole country, and without enquiring how these originated, or at whose door the fault should be laid, let us now as common sharers of common misfortunes, on all occasions, consult only as to the best means, under the circumstances as we find them, to secure the best ends towards amelioration. Good Government is what we want. This should be the leading desire and the control(1)ing object with all; and I need not assure you. if this can be obtained. that our desolated fields, our towns and villages, and cities now in ruins, will soon -- like the Phoenix -- rise again from their ashes; and all our waste places will again, at no distant day, blossom as the rose.

This view should also be borne in mind, that whatever differences

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et i et the bound of the state of its individual in the state capitaling to the book of the feet in the celoudiness to stir the city other of the injurious or rise invous to the fure of his country, then the e itation t present, of qualities that covered he popular terror to, or awrive the cristene of the Este wer. But occision, the especially in the best of more of office, out that the office of opinion in the past, ever to be more inred, either for or a till at eny one, otherwise equally mistle to conclusion. This is or centiments of other time, and circulated out the lens iron which hopeful or america our case. or all underence of opinion, concluse error, or supposed error, o the new error, on the part of any, in the part, " out of the emetters, on et once, is the need ocher of otherwise, comever harren. Let elera o no critic to re-criminative or reconst of second or action is canverning of past conflict or motile. In that the transport we are unon the whole country, and outline endurant cor trede origina ea, or it hose soor the fault mould be sent, las no as country and return of the state of the st only as to the bat ment, under the circumstance reached then, to secur the host end fow for emplionation. The government is what me rant. This should be the length earle and the co thought object ith all; no I need not saure you, if the colors and tist our desplace fie s, ou on our out of a colin single of the co in rains, will soon -- like the such at east sprin iron tastr ashes; and all our wasts place, ill serin, at no distint only, blossom is the role.

This vie should also be bare an mara, that whatever differenties

of opinion existed before the late fury of the war, they sprung mainly from differences as to the best means to be used, and the best lines of policy to be pursued, to secure the great controlling object of all -- which was GOOD GOVERNMENT. Whatever may be said of the loyalty or disloyalty of any, in the late most lamentable conflict of arms. I think I may venture safely to say, that there was, on the part of the great mass of the people of Georgia, and of the entire South, no disloyalty to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. To that system of representative Government; of delegated abd limited power; that establishment in a new phase, on this continent, of all the essentials of England's Magna Charta, for the protection and security of life, liberty and property; with the additional recognition of the principle as a fundamental truth, that all political power resides in the people. with us it was simply a question as to where our allegiance was due in the maintenance of these principles -- which authority was paramount in the last resort -- States or Federal. As for myself, I can affirm t hat no sentiment of disloyalty to these great principles of self government, recognized and embodied in the Constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted, and to this end my whole life has heretofore been aevoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days -- God willing. In devotion to these principles, I yield to no man living. This much I can say for myself; May I not say the same for you and for the great mass of the people of Georgia, and for the great mass of the people of the entire South? Whatever differences existed amongst us, arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing these great ends, which was the object of all. It was with this view and this purpose Secession was tried. That has failed. Instead of bettering our condition, instead of establishing our liberties

of opinion e irted before the late lury of the war, they arrung mainly from viferences as to the best means to be used, and the beat lines of policy to be parsied, to secure the great controlling object of all -- which was GOOD GOVERNIENT. Whatever may be seid of the loyalty or aisloyalty of any, in the late most lamentable conflict of arms, I think I may venture safely to say, that there was, on the part of the great uses of the people of Teorgia, and of the entire South, no disloyalty to the principles of the Constitution of the United States. To that system of representative Government; of celerated and limited power; that establishment in a new phese, on this continent, of all the essentials of England's Tagna Charta, for the protection and security of life, liberty and property; with the additional recognition of the principle as a fundamental truth, that all political comer resides in the people, with us it was simply a listion as to mere our alle iand was due in the maintenance of these principles -- which authority was peremount in the list recort -- Stiter o Pederal. As for weelt, I can affirm that no sentiment of disloyalty to these freat principle of self government, recognized and emboused in the Jonstitition of the 'United States, ever beat or throbbed in brenst or ierrt of mine. to their mintenance my hale soul was ever ends ted, and to this and my whole life has herethfore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days -- or willing. In devotion to these principles, I yield to no win living. This much I can sly for myself; May I not say the same for you and for the great mass of the people of Georgia, and for the great mass of the resple of the entire Goth? Tatever differences exited amonist us, prose trom differences as to the best and surest ments of securing these great and , which was the object of :11. It was with this view and this purpose recession as tried. That use fulled. Instead of bettering our condition, in tead of e tellihing our liverties

upon a surer foundation, we have, in the war that issued, come well nigh losing the whole of the rich inheritance with which we set out.

This is one of the sad realizations of the present. In this too, we are but illustrating the teachings of history. Wars, and civil wars expecially, always menace liberty; they seldom advance it; while they usually end in its entire overthrow and destruction. Ours stopped just short of such a catastrophe. Our only alternative now is, either to give up all hope of Constitutional liberty, or to retrace our steps, and to look for its vincication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms -- in the Courts and halls of Legislation, instead or on the rielos of baitle.

I am frank and candid in telling you right here, that our surest hopes, in my judgment, of these ends, are in the restoration policy of the President of the United States. I have little hope for liberty -- little hope for the success of the great American experiment of self-government -- but in the success of the present efforts for the restoration of the States to their former practical relations in a common government, under the Constitution of the United States.

We are not without an encouraging example on this line in the history of the mother country -- in the history of our ancestors -- from whom we derived, in great measure, the principles to which we are so much devoted. The truest friends of liberty in England once, in 1642, abandoned the forum of reason, and appealed, as we did, to the sword, as the surest means, in their juagment, of advancing their cause. This was after they had made great progress, under the lead of Coke, Hampden, Falkland and others, in the advancement of liberal principles. Many usurpations had been checked; many of the prerogatives of the Crown had been curtailed; the Petition of Right

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had been sanctioned; Ship-money had been abandoned; Courts-Martial had been done away with; Habeas Corpus had been re-established; High Courts of Commission and Star-Chamber had been abolished; many other great abuses of power had been corrected, and other reforms established. But not satisfied with these, and not satisfied with the peaceful working of reason, to go on in its natural sphere, the denial of the Sovereignty of the Crown was pressed by the too argent reformers upon Charles the First. All else he had yielded -- this he would not. The sword was appealed to to settle the question; a civil war was the result; great valor and courage were displayed on both sides; men of eminent virtue and patriotism fell in the sanguinary and fratricidal conflict; the King was deposed and executed; a Commonwealth proclaimed. But the end was the reduction of the people of England to a worse state of oppression than they had been in for centuries. They retraced their steps. After nearly twenty years of exhaustion and blood, and the loss of the greater portion of the liberties enjoyed by them before, they by almost unanimous consent, called for restoration. The restoration came. Charles the Second ascended the throne, as unlimited a monarch as ever ruled the empire. Not a pledge was asked or a guarantee given, touching the concessions of the Royal prerogative, that had been exacted and obtained from his father.

The true friends of liberty, of reform and of progress in government, had become convinced that these were the offspring of peace and of enlightened reason, and not of passion nor of arms. The House of Commons and the House of Lords were henceforth the theatres of their operations, and not the fields of Newberry or Marston-Moor. The result was, that in less than thirty years, all their ancient rights and privileges, which had been lost in the civil war, with new securities, were re-established in the ever memorable settlement of 1688; which, for all practical purposes, may be looked

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upon as a bloodless revolution. Since that time England has made still further and more signal strides in reform and progress. But not one of these has been effected by resort to arms. Catholic Emancipation was carried in Parliament, after years of argument, against the most persistent opposition, Reason and justice ultimately prevailed. So with the removal of the disability of the Jews - So with the overthrow of the Rotten-Borough system -- So with the extension of franchise -- so with the modification of the Corn-Laws, and restrictions on Commerce, opening the way to the establishment of the principles of Free-Trade -- and so with all the other great reforms by Parliament, which have so distinguished English history

for the last half century.

Max we not include hope, even in the alternative before us now, from this great example of restoration, if we but as as the friends of liberty there did? This is my hope, my only hope. It is founded on the virtue, intelligence and patriotism of the American people. I have not lost my faith in the people, or in their capacity for self-government. But for these great essential qualities of human nature, to be brought into active and efficient exercise, for the fulfillment of patriotic hopes, it is essential that the passions of the day should subside; that the causes of these passions should not now be discussed; that the embers of the late strife should not be stirred.

Man by nature is ever prone to scan closely the errors and defects of his fellow man -- ever ready to rail at the mote in his brother's eye, without considering the beam that is in his own. This should not be Weall have our motes or beams. We are all frail; perfection is the attribute of none. Prejudice or pre-judgment should be indulged towards none. Prejudice! What wrongs, what injuries, what mischiefs, what lamentable consequences, have resulted at all times from nothing but this perversity of the intellect!

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Of all the obstacles to the savancement of truth and human progress, in every department -- in science, in art, in government, and in religion, in all ages and climes, not one on the list is more formidable, more difficult to overcome and subdue, than this horrible distortion of the moral as well as intellectual faculties. It is a host of evil within itself. I could enjoin no greater auty upon my countrymen now, Forth and South, than the exercise of that degree of forbearance which would enable them to conquer their prejudices. One of the highest exhibitions of the moral sublime the world ever witnessed, was that of Daniel Webster, when in an open barouche in the streets of Boston, he proclaimed in substance, to a vast assembly of his constituents -unwilling hearers -- that "they had conquered an uncongenial clime; they had conquered a sterile soil; they had conquered the winds and elements of the Ocean; they had conquered most of the elements of nature; but they must yet learn to conquer their prejudices"! I know of no more fitting incident or scene in the life of that wonderful man Clarus et vir Fortissimus, ' for perpetuating the memory of the true greatness of his character, on canvass or in marble, than a representation of him as he then and there stood and spoke! It was an exhibition of moral grandeur surpassing that of Aristides when he said, " Oh Athenians, , what Themistocles recommends would be greatky to your interest, but it would be unjust"!

I say to you, and if we my voice could extend throughout this vast country, over hill and dale, over mountain and valley, to hovel, harlet and mansion, village, town and city, I would say among the first, looking to restoration of peace, prosperity and harmony in this land, is the great duty of exercising that degree of forbearance which will enable them to conquer their prejudices. Frejudices against communities as well as individuals.

לא בי נגל מיווע מע. בויי וכ וז אטעיגאיי זון נון אין סו אפער ון זון -1 Every action of the company of the state of the contract of liting in the star of the start respections to overcome and above, the horrists as torten of the most last to the first little state of the אונת הו בובור. ד באולל מון אות מיי ל די ניי שייו דן ניין יין ובו ניאי, 10 LV 71. 17 3 - ((T) 1 C) ST TELL CELL ST TELL ST בשום פות ל ועיד ל) כ תכיטו יו וייבר. ית סו וביבר. ית סו וביבר elibertine of the complete the target and the termination Het (n lietele l' l'implor non de Mor, est l' formoi oc -- Production of the end of the e particle for the control of the cont tions about a set at a company of the set of and the presented by the second of the for the second of the second TWO LITES HE CAN I IT HE I TO A SEC TO I THE MINE OF THE PART OF T Contains and and as a contain of the section of the second markets of and to the part of the fact of the part of "TO DEED TO THE TOTAL TOTAL TO THE TOTAL TOTAL TO THE TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL TO THE TOTAL T of the form the first of the first sound and the state of with a comment of the contract to the contract intelian or obtain the tool

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And next to that, the indulgence of a Christian spirit of charity.

"Juage not that ye ha not judged," especially in matters growing out of the late war. Fost of the wars that have scourged the world, even in the Christian era, have arisen on points of conscience, or differences as to the surest way of salvation. A strange way that to Meaven, is it not? How much disgrace to the Church, and shape to mankind, yould have been avoided, if the ejaculation of each breast had been, at all times, as it should have been,

"Let not this weak, unknowing hand,

Presume thy bolts to throw;

And deal damnation round the land,

On him I deem thy foe."

How equally proper is it now, when the spirit of peace seems to our be hovering over, ar-stricken land, that in canvassing the conduct or notives of others during the late conflict, this great truth should be impressed upon the minds of all,

"Who made the heart? 'Tis He alone

Decidedly can try us;

He knows each chord, its various tone,

Tach spring, its various bias;

Then at the balance, let's be mute,

We never can adjust it;

What's done, we partly may compute,

MXXXX But know not what's resisted."

of all the heaven descended virtues, that elevate & ennoble human nature, the highest the sublimest, and the divinest is charity. By all means, then, fail not to exercise and cultivate this soul-regenerating element of faller nature. Let it be cultivated and exercised not only amongst ourselves and towards ourselves, on all questions of motive or conduct touching the late war, but towards all mankind. Even towards

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our enemies, if we have any, let the aspirations of our hearts be "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." The exercise of patience, forbearance and charity, therefore, are the three first duties I would at this time enjoin -- and of these three, the greatest is charity."

But to proceed. Another one of our present auties, is timis:
We should accept the issues of the war, and abide by them in good
faith. This, I feel fully persuaded, it is your purpose to do, as well
as that of your constituents. The people of Georgia have in Convention revoked and annulled her Ordinance of 1861, which was intended
to sever her from the compact of Union of 1787. The Constitution
of the United States has been reordained as the organic law of our
land. Whatever differences of opinion heretofore existed as to where
our allegiance was due, during the late state of things, none for any
practical purpose can exist now. Whether Georgia, by the action of
her Convention of 1861, was ever rightfully out of the Union or not,
there can be no question that she is now in, so far as depends upon
her will and deed. The whole United States, therefore, is now without
question our country, to be cherished and defended as such, by all
our hearts and by all our arms.

The Constitution of the United States, and the treaties and laws made in pursuance thereof, are now acknowledged to be the paramount law in this whple country. Whoever therefore is true to these principles as now recognized, is loyal as far as that term has any legitimate use or force under our institutions. This is the only kind of loyalty and the only test of loyalty the Constitution itself requires. In any other view, everything pertaining to restoration so far as regards the great body of the people in at least eleven States of the Union, is but making a promise to the ear to be broken to the hope. All, therefore, who accept the issue of war in good

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faith, and come up to the test required by the Constitution, are now loyal hovever they may have heretofore been.

But with this change comes a new order of things. One of the results of the war is a total change in our ix whole internal polity. Our former social fabric has been entirely subverted. Like those convulsions in nature which break up old incrustations. the war has wrought a new epoch in our political existence. Old things have passed away, and all things among us in this respect are new. The relation heretofore, under our old system, existing between the African and European races, no longer exist. Slavery, as it was called, or the status of the black race, their subordination to the white, upon which all our institutions rested, is abolished forever, not only in Georgia, but throughout the limits of the United States. This change should be received and accepted as an irrevocable fact. It is a bootless question now to discuss whether the new system is better for both races than the old one was or not. That may be proper matter for the philosophic and philanthropic historian, at some future time to inquire into, after the new system shall have been fully and fairly tried.

All changes of systems or proposed reforms, are but experiments and problems to be solved. Our system of self-government was an experiment at first. Perhaps as a problem it is not yet solved. Our present duty on this subject is not with the past or the future. It is with the present. The wisest and the best often err, in their judgments as to the probable worgings of any new system. Let us therefore give this one, a fair and just trial, without prejudice, and with that earnestness of purpose, which always looks hopefully to success. It is an ethnological problem, on the solution of which depends, not only the best interests of both races, but it may be, the existence of one or the other, if not both.

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THE WITE CHARGE COMES; HEN DRUCK OF THIME, ONE OF La retui e for Mx Tro di ejnedo festo e e internal policy. Our former modification as been entirely subverteu. Lake there cor alsions in neture which break up ild incrustations, the var has wronger to new poch in our political existence, and thirgh have passed away, and all things among ut in this respect are new. "he relation herefolde, whiler our old by stee, existing between the African and Armean res, no longer office as it was colled, or the status of the blace race, their subordi-Teton to the flite, upo Eich all our in titutions return, is allolished for er, sot only in Georgie, but amount the limit. of the inied states. This community and received and accepted es an irresocable free. It is a loo lear such non to alsoura whether he nem system in better hoth ruce then the ald one as of the many te proper metter for the mileso mic and phil-othronic historian, of so dure the to inchre into, situr the ser ystem shall have been for yar and fairly traca.

and proclem to be solved. Our system of relations, in out agerments and proclem to be solved. Our system of relationary at first. Perh no. - a problem at a not yell solved. Our present only on this sapport is not with the process. In a sest and the best of the err, and their lating sest and the best of the err, and their therefore give this one, a fair and just friel, without projudice, and with that earnestness of purpose, which slreys looks hope ally to success. It is an ethnological problem, on the solution of thich as and the best interests of but reces, but it earnestness of problem, on the solution of thich as and the order of problem, on the solution of this are then of other, if not both.

This duty of giving this new system a fair and just trial.will require of you, as Legislators of the land, great changes in our former laws in regard to this large class of population. Wise and humane provisions should be made for them. It is not for me to go into detail. Suffice it to say on this occasion, that ample and full protection should be secured to them, so that thet may stand equal before the law, in the possession and enjoyment of all rights of person, liberty and property. Many considerations claim this at your hands. Among these may be stated their fidelity in times past. They cultivated your fields; ministered to your personal wants and comforts; nursed and reared your children; and even in the hour of danger and peril, they were in the main, true to you and yours. To them we owe a debt of gratitude. as well as acts of kindness. This should also be done because they are poor, untutored, uninformed; many of them helpless, liable to be imposed upon, and need it. Legislation should ever look to the protection of the weak against the strong. Whatever may be sais of the equality of races, or their natural capacity to become equal, no one can doubt that at this time, this race among us is not equal, to the Caucasian. This inequality does not lessen the moral obligations on the part of the superior to the inferior, it rather increases them. From him who has much, more is required than from him who has little. The present generation of them, it is true, is far above their savage progenitors, who were at first introduced into this country, in general intelligence, virtue, and moral culture. This shows capacity for improvement. But in all the higher characteristics of mental development, they are still very far below the European type. What further advancement they may make, or to what standard they may attain, under a different system of laws every suitable and wisely applicable to their changed condition, time alone can disclose. I speak of them as we now know them to be having no longer the protection of a master,

This duty of diving this new system a fair and just trial, will require o you, as Legislators of the land, great chan es in our for er la s in regard to thiex large class of population, is anu number provisions should be made for them. It is not for me to go into cetail. Saffice it to say or this occasion, that amrle and full protection should be secured to them, so that they may tan equal before the lar, in the possession and enjoyment of largut of person, liberty and property, lany considerations of un this at your hands, Anone these may be stated their fidelity in these post, they cultivated your fields; ministered to your nersonal want and comforts; nursed and reared your children; and even in the hour of damer ; nu peril, they were in the main, true to your and your a them we owe a cept of ratitude, is well as action king s. . The roll led be cone because they are poor, untutored, ininformed; many of them helpless, liable to be imposed upon, and need it. elidetion dans ever look to the protection of the werk project the strong. Artiver my be said of the equality of races, or their natural canacian to recone enal, no one can would that at this time, this race emong us, is not squal, to the Caucasian. This inequality does not les en the moral politions of the part of the superior to the inferior, i either in reases that. ro nim who has much, more is required than from its had little. The present generation of them, it is true, is for soove thir wase oro, enitors, who were at first introduced into this country, in Leneral in elligence, virtue, and moral culture. This shows rapporty for improve ent, But in all te higher christerities of the evelopment, they are still very for belo the jury retype, hat further as v noement they say sume, or to west attempt the large time, under a different system of law every outable on a sely applicable to their connection, time alone cer circloc. I was of them is now them to be, kiving no longer the units units of a line of the many them to be, kiving no longer the units of the many them to be, kiving no longer the units of the many them to be, kiving no longer the units of the many them to be, kiving no longer the units of the units or legal guardian; they now need all the protection which the shield of the law can give.

But above all, this protection should be secured because it is right and just that it should be, upon general principles. All governments in their organic structure, as well as in their administration, should have this leading object in view; the good of the governed. Protection and security to all under its jurisdiction, should be the chief end of every government. It is a melancholy truth that while this should be the chief end of all governments, most of them are used only as instruments of power, for the aggrandizement of the few, at the expense of, and by the oppression of, the many. Such are not our ideas of government, never have been and never should be. Governments according to our ideas, should look to the good of the whole, and not a part only. "The greatest good to the greatest number", is a favorite dogma with some. Some so defende our old system. But you know this was never my doctrine. The greatest good to all, without detriment or injury to any, is the true rule. Those governments only are founded upon correct principles, of reason and justice, which look to the greatest attainable advancement, improvement and progress, physically, intellectually and morally of all classes and conditions within their rightful jurisdiction. If our old system was not the best, or could not have been made the best, for both races, in this respect and upon this basis, it ought to have been abolished. This was my view of that system while it lasted, and I repeat it now that it is no more, In legislation therefore under the new system, you should look to the best interest of all classes; their protection, security, advancement & and improvement, physically, intellectually and morally. All obstacles, if there be any, should be removed, which can possibly hinder or retard. the improvement of the blacks to the extent of their capacity. All

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But show all, the pro ection choole become become i' is right and just that it hould be, upon general principles. All governments in their or snic tructure, as well as in their refinis retion, could nove this lesting object in view; the cool of the governed. Instection and security to all unter its thrive ciction, should be the chief end of every jovernment. It is milenciply trith first maile this should be the chilf en of the conernmerts, woot of the remark only as instrumental on or, for the suggest of the execute of the execute of and the turner pression of, the many, active not our less movernment, never h ve been and never should be covernments coording to our intes, enoul: look to the jour of the chole, and not a part only. 'in restest ..... te test number", is if ry.rite dumin. הוופ. לאה בי רפלבוטר אוד מי נירופות. בעל עמע זיו בען ולע וופ עב y mostrine. The tree cost of the control of the control of the costribution of the cos to arr, is the Irle relation of the critical arrangement of corres principle, figuresh our more line is a til grantsit : thoughle cav. n. crait, rigioverno, raise of policilis, יות לפון יים יוני בווע מורים ביוני לי יון יוינים ביוני לי יון יוינים ביוני לי יון יוינים ביוני היו ביוני היו בה heir rinful juri or in. Is out of the cert, or most have been not the best of bottomers, in the median of the system while it listered, the Jiegus to not the it is not process It levisles in therefore under the speak policitation is hert interest of (1) ol, ares; their processing ecosity, -- , remain & and improve ast, presented intelled unly and morallary of our security there of ary, small be removed, which our mainty at most or retera, the improvement of the ileast to the extens of their of the injury.

proper aid should be given to their own efforts. Channels of education should be opened up to them. Schools and the usual means of moral and intellectual training, should be encouraged amongst them. This is the dictate, not only of what is right and proper, and just in itself, but it is also the promptings of the highest considerations of interest. It is difficult to conceive a greater evil or curse, that coula befall our country, stricken and distressed as it now is, than for so large a portion of its population, as this class will quite probably constitute amongst us, hereafter, to be reared in ignorance, depravity and vice. In view of such a statex of things, well might the prudent, even now look to its abandonment. Let us not however indulge in such thoughts of the future. Nor let us, without an effort, say the system can not be worked. Let us not, standing still, hesitatingly ask, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" but let us rather say as Gamaliel did. "If this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God". The most vexed questions of the age are social problems. These we have heretofore had but little to do with; we were relieved from them by our peculiar institution. Emancipation of the blacks. with its consequences, was ever considered by me with much more interest as a social question, one relating to the proper status of the different elements of society, and their relations towards each other, looking to the best interest of all, than in any other light. The pecuniary aspect of it, the considerations of labor and capital, in a politico-economic view, sunk into insignificance, in comparison with this. This problem, as one of the results of the war, is now upon us, presenting one of the most perplexing questions of the sort that any people ever had to deal with. Let us resolve to do the best we can with it, from all the lights we have or can get

the contract of the second of and the second of the second and the more of the cicted, not my or after milit end proper, and just in itself, of it is a live product of the back of the second of the s It is in the conceive a relater of it or cure, the could hefell our country, criticaes or received to the lor s) large a portion of its population, as this cases will quite ordishly constitute stanger us, terr der, to be reserve in incred, deprevity and vice. In view of this ex of thing, all manth the prudent, even cow look to it chanoment, let k not lowers In a sect our t. of a control of the latest and the control of the ear ti system can not be worsen. Int wo not, at many many itadingly and, "lan there any good thing come out of "almostb" but let us rather say as hareling uic, 'If the course or enter vors be of men, it will call to now to the it be of for ye connit overtary it, let ingly be bound of the state that's The most vexetions of the mer amount of ancitable baxes to and beve hereto ore and but little o coming we are relieved rom them by our peculiar institution. Transition of the olicke, ith it. consultances, who ver collidant to me with the more interest as a correct country, one relians to the grove. SUBMIT of the different elements of society, end neir rel times towerum ero oter, loring to the ben interest of ill, then in ing their light. The pecuniary aspect of it, the considerations of labor and capital, in politico-economic via, un into largarificano, in comparison with this. This problem, of one of the relationst mer, is no upon us, presenting me of the root perpleaned, it is of the cirt aut my respie ever le ta last sita. Let us range to do the bist is one with it, from all the light to have one to the

from any quarter. With this view, and in this connection, I take
the liberty of quoting for your consideration, some remarks even
from the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. I met with them some months ago
while pondering on this subject, and was as much struck as surprised,
with the drift of their philosophy, coming from the source they did.
I give them as I find them in the New York Times where they were
reported. You may be as much surprised at hearing such ideas from
Mr.Beecher, as I was. But however much we may differ from him on
many questions, and on many questions connected with this subject,
yet all must admit him to rank amongst the master spirits of the age.
And no one perhaps has contributed more by the power of his pen and
voice in bringing about the present state of things, than he has.
Yet, nevertheless, I commend to your serious consideration, as pertinent
to my present object, what he was reported to have said, as follows:

"In our land and time facts and questions are pressed upon us, which demand Christian settlement. Settlement on this ground & doctrine. We can not escape the responsibility. Being strong and powerful, we must nurse and help and educate and foster, the weak and poor and ignorant. For my own part I cannot see how we shall escape the most terrible conflict of classes, by and bye, unless we are educated into this doctrine of duty, on the part of the superior to the inferior. We are told by zealous and fanatical individuals, that all men are equal. We know better. They are not equal. A common brotherhood teaches no such absurdity. A theory of universal physical likeness, is no more absurd than this. Now as ib all times, the strong go to the top, the weak go to the bottom. It's natural, right and cant be helped. All branches are not at the top of the tree, but the top does not despise the lower; nor do they all despise the limb or the parent trunk; and so with the body politic, there must be classes. some must be at the top and some must be at the bottom. It is difficult to

row engraveter, ith this view, end in t is connection, I take the libers of untime for your consideration, some remarks even from the new the new the subject, and was as such struct as surprised, with the orif. of their philosophy, coming from the saurce tray die. I give them as I find them in the New York three such they ere reported. You may be as much surprised of histing such income from the secher, as I was, but however much we may offer from min on the secher, as I was, but however much we may offer from min on the fet all mast a mit in to remark connected with this subject, and no one perhaps has contributed more or the poer of his min and you is in the poer of his or and your in bringing about the present state of things, then no be yet, nevertheless, I commend to your serious consideration, as pertinar to my present object, what he was reported to have said, as follows:

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What he here said of the state of things where he spoke in the State of New York, and the fearful antagonism of classes there, is much more applicable to us. Here it is true, only two great classes exist, or are likely to exist, but these are deeply marked by distinctions bearing the impress of nature. The one is now beyond all question greatly superior to the other. These classes are as mixthex distinct as races of men can be The one is of the highest type of humanity, the other of the lowest.

All that he says of the duty of the superior, to protect, to sid, to encourage, and to help the inferior, I fully and coroially encorse and commend to you as quite as applicable to us and our situation, as it was to his auditors. Whether the doctrine, carried out and practices, will nettle all these most troublesome home questions with us as easily as addressing, I will not undertake to say. I have no hesitancy, however, in saying that the general principles announced by him are good. Let thus be

These, inc estimate the development of the <u>tower</u> of plasses in America They are simply inevitable. They are here now, no will be more. If they are frierally, living at peace, loving and respecting and helping one another, all will be well. But if they are selfish, unchristian; in the old heathen feeling is to reign, each extreting all he can from his petiter, and caring nothing for him; society will be can from the object. By cems - like batteries, each fireing broadside after urguside, tower upon the other. If on the other hand the lay of love prevails, here will be no ill-will, no envy, no an turbence. Does a child hate his father because he is chief, because he is trong and wise; On the contrary, no frows with his father's growth, and strengthens with his stater's growth, and strengthens with his stater's growth, and strengthens with his father should be fifty graded or classes, all helping each other, there will be no trouble, and perfect satisfiction and content. This christian doctrine carried into or class, all easily actile the most troublesome of all home present questions.

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adopted by as as far as fracticable. To harm can come from it, much joba may. Whether the great barrier of races which the Creator has placed between this, our inferior class and ourselves, shall free intake success of the experiment now on trial, of a peaceful, happy and from erous community, composed of such elements and sustaining present relations towards each other, or even a further elevation on the part of the inferior, if they prove themselves fit for it, let the future, under the dispensations of Providence, decide. We have to deal with the present.

Let us do our duty now, leaving results and ultimate consequences

To that "divinity which shapes our ends,

Rough hew them how we will."

In all things on this subject as in all others, let our guidexexts be the admirable motto of our State. Let our counsels be governed by Wisdom, our neasures by Moderation and our principles by Justice.

So much for what I haveto say on this occasion, touching our present duties on this absorbing subject, and some of our duties in reference to a restoration of peace, law and order; without which all must, so oner or later, end in utter confusion, anarchy and despotism. I have as I said I should, only glanced at some general ideas.

Now as to the future, and the prospect before us! On this branch of the subject I can add but little. You can form some ideas of my views of that from what has already been said. Would that I could say something cheergul; but that candor, which has marked all that I have said, compels me to say that to me the future is far from being bright. It is dark and impenetrable. Thick gloom curtains and closes in the horizon all around me. Thus much I can say: my only hope is in the peaceful re-establishment of good government, and its peaceful maintenance afterwards. And further, the most hopeful prospect to this end now, is the restoration of the old Union, and with

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it the speedy return of fraternal feeling throughout its length and breadth. These results depend upon the people themselves - upon the people of the Norht quite as much as the people of the South upon their virtue, intelligence and patriotism, I repeat, I have faith in the American people, in their virtue, intelligence and patriotism. But for this I should heng since have despaired. - Dark and gloomy as the present hour is. I do not yet despair of free institutions. Let but the virtues, intelligence and patriotism of the people throughout the whole country be properly appealed to, aroused and brought into action, and all may yet be well. The masses, everywhere, are alike equally interested in the great object. Let old issues, old questions, old differences and old feuds, be regarded as fossils of another epoch. They belong to what may hereafter be considered the Silurian period of our history. Great, new, living questions are before us. Let it not be said of us in this day, not yet passed, of our country's greatest trial and agony, that, "there was ax party for Caesar, a party for Pompey, and a party for Brutus, but no party for Rome."

But let all patriots, by whatever distinctive name heretofore styled, rally, in all elections everywhere, to the support of him, be he who he may, who bears the standard with "Constitutional Union" emblasoned on its folds. President Johnson is now in my judgment the chief great standard bearer of these principles, and in his efforts at restoration should receive the cordial support of every well wisher of his country.

In this consists, on this rests, my only hope. Should he be sustained, and the Government restored to its former functions, all the States brought back to their practical relations under the Constitution, our situation will be greatly changed from what it was before. A radical and fundamental change, as has been stated, has been made in that organic law. We shall have lost what was known as our "peculiar institution"

Alleger al. leadeness and services to delicate against older יות של בדיו, "ופת בב ווי ושראות ודיון ליפ היוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי ביוויבי - 1 local And is -fooder not the proper has a blog throw out in a freeze of יון וו תויבר אלרווב, וה בות בחובת בתני יו בדיור . . ו בפ יוי, ב הויע יו בעב ער כינו או, הרי, זה לאפור זיפה , ומו פו יוט זו . at the I manual tong the weather and a second at the לו בי ברבו ל מו שוסל בי בו שוסל בי מו המיני מו בי בו בו בי בו בו בי בי בו בו לו בי בי בי בו בי בי בי בי בי בי יות בועם אוב עצא, אוני בב עבופם והוא היידות אידות היידות היידות היידות היידות היידות היידות היידות היידות היידות er i tagmend har amanan et delamons el secent de mico salab ma or in the contract of the cont newelly interested in the season object, wes the trans, or and the policy on, of the sterio. The old for you make the state of the The billing to world out terms for the controller of the cold out of den it is a second and the variety of the last of t tion of a in this cay, not retained, or our work mit of oil HER COMPARED TO FIRST TO STREET TO GREET, THE TAIL STREET, THE STR o morte for Extlusiont name of the or

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which was so intertwined with the whole framework of our State body politic. We shall have lost nearly half the accumulated capital of a century. But we shall have still left all the essentials of free government. contained and embodied in the old Constitution, untouched and unimpaired as they came from the hands of our fathers. With these, even if we had to begin entirely anew, the prospect before us would be much more encouraging than the prospect was before them, when they fled from the oppressions of the old world, and sought shelter and homes in this then wilderness land. The liberties we begin with they had to achieve. With the same energies and virtues they displayed, we have much more to cheer us than they had. with a climate unrivalled in salubrity; with a soil unsurpassed in fertility; and with products unequalled in value in the markets of the world, to say nothing of our mineral resources, we shall have much still to wed us to the good old land. With good government, the matrix from which alone spring all great human achievements, we shall lack nothing but our own proper exertions, not only to recover our former prosperity, but to attain a much higher degree of development in everything that characterises a great, free, and happy people. At least I know of no other land that the sun shines upon, that offers better prospects under the contingencies stated.

The old Union was based upon the assumption, that it was for the best interest of the people of all the States to be united as they were, each State faithfully performing to the people of the other States, all their obligations under the common compact. I always thought this assumption was founded upon broad, correct, and statesmanlike principles. I think so yet. It was only when it seemed to be impossible further to maintain it, without hazarding greater evils than would perhaps attend a sepafation, that I yielded my assent in obedience to the voice of Georgia, to try the experiment which has just resulted so disastrously to us. Indeed, during the whole

rated are so the strings with the whole irranswork of our State of the rectual revelont readly have necessary remember of a conery, bt w hill have still ledt .Il the examines of area sovarm and, contrined and enomined in the old Constitution, unitourise and Enimported as the true testerage of our liters, the tiese, even in we and to bugin entirely enew, 'ne prospect bethan as would be much nore Turour jing than the prosonet has before them, when they fire from the so sessions of the old sort, and south anelter and homes in this then viluerness Land. The li erties we begin with, they how to santove. Vith th some energies and virtues they displayed, we have much more to cheer is than tray her, with a climate unrivalled in salabraty; with a soil ansurpassed in sertility and lith product. Inequalled in value in the Horketh of the world, to say nothing of our miner lire, burden, se and live much still to wed is to the good old land, fith good covernment, the netrix from which alone soring . Il freet num recomevements, ne shall lack notains but our orn proper exertion, not only to recover our former respective but to attern much himse of devilopment everytun, sat chrecterises enet, irae, era h pry people. At les - I and of no other lend the the control and that o'll resatter or order the united entre tribe.

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lamentable conflict, it was my opinion that however the pending strife might terminate, so far as the appeal to the swprd was concerned, yet after a while, when the passions adm excitements of the day should pass away, an adjustment or arrangement would be made upon Continental principles, upon the general basis of "reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience," on which the Union was first established. My earnest, however, throughout, was whatever might be done, might be peacefully done; might be the result of calm, dispassionate, and enlightened reason; looking to the permanent interests and welfare of all. and now, after the severe chastisement of war, if the general sense of the whole country shall come back to the acknowledgement of the original assumption, that it is for the best interests of all the States to be so united, as I trust it will; the States still being "separate as the billows but one as the sea"; I can perceive no reason why, under such restoration, we as a whole with "peace, commerce, and honest friendshipk with all nations and entangling alliance with none. "may not enter upon a new career, exciting increased wonder in the old world, by grander achievements hereafter to be made, than any heretofore attained, by the peaceful and harmonious workingsof our American institutions of self government. All this is possible if the hearts of the people be right. It is my warmest wish to see it. Fondly would I inculge my fancy in gazing on such a picture of the future. With what rapture may we not suppose the spirits of our fathers would hail its opening scenes from their mansions above. Such are my hopes, resting on such contingencies. But if, instead of all this, the passions of the day shall continue to bear sway; if prejudice shall rule the hour; if a conflict of races shall arise; if ambition shall turn the scale; if the sword shall be thrown in the balance against patriotism; if the embers of the late war shall be kept a glowing until with new fuel they shall flame

i menterl conflict, it was my opinion to however the jenuing otri e night terminite, so fir as the apresa to the swprd was concerned, jet after a while, when the passions and excitements of the day should pres away, an adjustment or arrangerent vould be made upon Continental principles, upon the Jeneral hasis of 'reciprocal seventare and mitual convenience," on which the Unior as first entiblished. Ty errnest, however, throughout, was westever mint be come, might be peacefully done; ight he the result of orl, or possionate, end enlightened reson; looking to the perm ment interest sud religing of all, and now, after the severa chartesement of wir, i the seneral sence of the whole country and leader been to the commonle grant of the original assumption, that it is for the has interested the States to be so united, as I trust it will; the otites -till being ".eparate of the billows but one as the me'; I err perchange no reason why, amor alon restors in , we so hole it a perce, correrce, and home t fraum anno vi m all ret on - and emmana ellience with none, 'thy and enter anoma a men come to a little incressed wonder in the old world, by prender editer derenter to be made, than any deretofore oftained, in the peaceful and useprious workin sof our American institutions of the covernment. All this is possible in the rearrant the nearly near it. It. my w rment ien to ee i. 'oul inculs and incu sich a picture of the future, it's wint of the colore the spirit of the firm of the spirit of the masing above. old the my tone, seemly of the milester. if, instead of the tile poets of the art the second tile herr cry; if pre mice in li rule the mount; if a public of rece. Fiell rise; if within on the tree of the real of the r er 11 e cut l'in l'intime de l'archient

up again, then our present gloom is but the shadow, the <u>penumbra</u> of that deeper and darker eclipse, which is to totally obscure this hemishhere and blight forever the anxious anticipations and expectations of mankind! Then hereafter by some bard it may be sung,

'The Star of Hope shone brightest in the West,
The hope of Liberty, the last, the best;
That too has set, upon her darkened shore,
And Hope and Freedom light up earth no more.'

May we not all on this occasion, on this anniversary of the birth day of Washington, join in a fervent prayer to Heaven that the great Ruler of events may avert from this land, such a fall, such a fate, and such a requiem:

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